

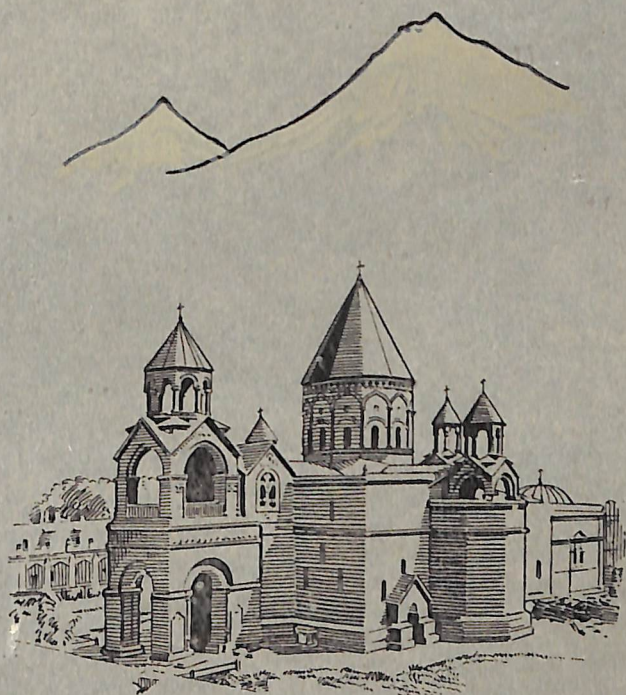
ARARAT.

A SEARCHLIGHT ON ARMENIA.

Vol. II. No. 23. London : MAY, 1915.

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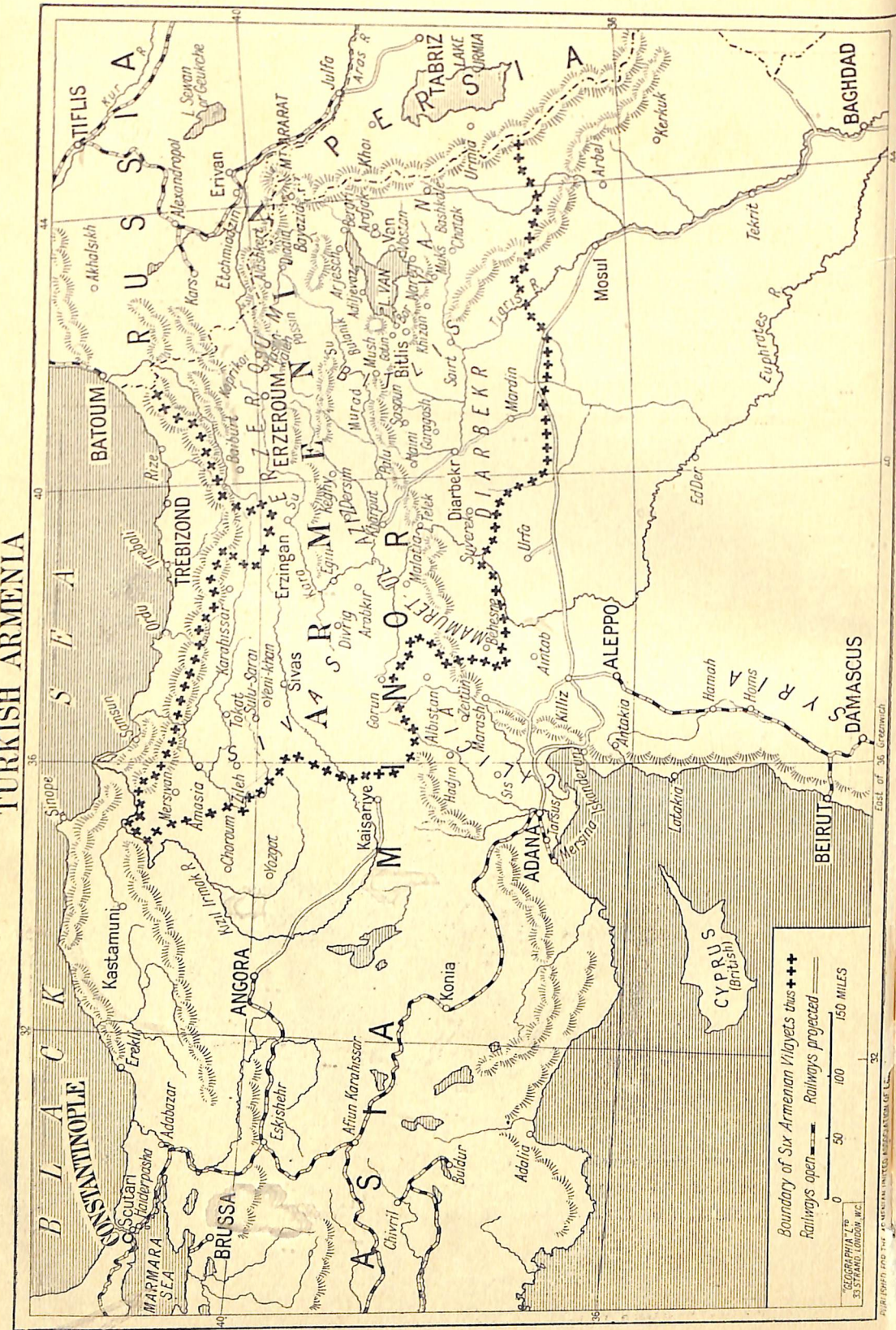
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Current Notes.

Our readers will find a new departure in our issue of this month and a surprise, perhaps, in our being able to give a certain number of pages in Armenian type. The occasion was unique and we took a bold step to meet it, despite a short delay being caused in publication. Any unpublished writing of the late Khrimean Hairik was certain to be looked forward to with the utmost eagerness, and it would have been hardly satisfactory to present merely a translation without the actual words of the great Catholicos. And then again the character of the poem we publish is such as to raise it above an ordinary utterance—it is a prophetic outpouring such as the seers of old might have unburdened themselves of, and it bears directly on the present world-aspect with remarkable precision. We are fortunate, too, in being able to give a portrait of the author, which is the best of him ever taken. We propose to republish in pamphlet form all the matter in this issue connected with *A Meeting of Kings*, together with additional word-pictures of the author, both in English and Armenian. Our advertisement pages give full particulars of the pamphlet, and we trust the sales will be large enough to benefit our Armenian Refugees' Relief Fund.

It is with extreme satisfaction that we are able to announce that His Holiness the Catholicos has appointed a Delegation for the purpose of watching over National interests bound up with the war now in progress. That the colourings on the map of the world will be altered to an unrecognisable degree is certain; and that Armenia will be a co-sharer in the benefits accruing from these alterations is equally certain. It was an extremely necessary step, therefore, that some person possessing the full confidence of the Catholicos, and at the same time trusted by the nation, should have in his hands all the threads of national policy, and so be ready to take up the advocacy of our national interests when the proper time comes. The person selected as the Chief Delegate is Boghos Nubar Pasha, and this choice will be applauded as the best that could have been made. It is not so very long ago that Boghos Pasha was in close touch with the Armenian Question, and his indefatigable labours had no small bearing on the final elaboration of the Armenian Reforms of last year, which were so ignominiously strangled by the Turkish authorities at the outbreak of the present war. Circumstances and surroundings now bear a totally different aspect, and we wish our Delegate, who is installed in Paris as before, a crowning success in what should be a final settlement of the Armenian Question.

The great struggle in Europe continues to drag on all fronts. On the Western front, the French and the British are making slow but steady progress; on the Eastern front, the Russians have had a setback in Galicia; and so the see-saw goes on. In the Dardanelles, substantial progress is being made by the Allies, in spite of the loss of three British battleships, the *Goliath*, the *Triumph* and the *Majestic*, heavy losses having been inflicted on the Turks both in men and material. It will be in this region that matters will first take a decisive turn and alarm is already being felt at Constantinople, which has been visited by a British submarine. German "frightfulness" continues to do its worst, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the introduction of poisonous gases into the fighting line, and the murders of peaceful citizens by Zeppelin raids, one having reached London at last, being all considered as legitimate warfare. On the other hand, the entry of Italy into the ranks of the Allies, and similar expected action on the part of the Balkan States, must tend to curtail and embarrass the powers of the Austro-Turco-Germanic group.

With regard to action in Armenia, we have given an account of the dark side of the picture on another page in this issue. Here we will recount the glad tidings of success, the chief of which is the relief and occupation of Van by the Russian forces and Armenian volunteer contingents, towards the third week in May. Van was at one time the capital of the ancient Armenian kingdom, and was the headquarters of the Fourth Turkish Army Corps, with a population of some 35,000 Armenians, besides about 15,000 Turks and Kurds. On April 10th last 10,000 armed Armenians occupied the town, which was soon after besieged by the 17th Nizam Division under Saji Bey. The Russian advance fairly swept the Turks from this region, taking, besides Van, the towns of Sarai, Bashkaleh and Vastan. In the capture of Van, 26 guns, small arms, stores and the Government treasury were taken. The Armenian population, headed by the Bishop and the clergy, welcomed with enthusiasm the entry of the relieving force. The inhabitants lined the streets and sang the Russian National Anthem, cheered wildly, and cast flowers before the soldiers. Bread and salt were presented to the officers. A great part of the town had been destroyed by fire, but the Russian consulate and the foreigners living in Van were all safe.

It is with sorrow that we have to record that Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. M. Doughty-Wylie, C.B., C.M.G., was killed in action at the Dardanelles on April 29th. His name brings back to us the horrible

massacres of Adana in April, 1909, engineered by the Young Turks, when so many Armenians perished. His self-command at the time saved the lives of thousands of others. A correspondent thus writes to *The Times*:—"On his own responsibility he assumed the practical command of the city of Adana, and his courage and capacity saved the lives of hundreds—indeed it was believed by those best able to judge, thousands—of many nationalities. Wearing his military uniform, he rode through the town with a half company of Turkish troops, compelling the raging mob to stop the killing, and posting guards over particular houses. His right arm was broken by a bullet but this did not prevent him from riding out again, and in the second and worst outbreak of massacre again saving more hundreds of lives. . . . He afterwards organised a system of relief to the destitute—22,000 persons, exclusive of refugees in his own house, and exclusive also of the inmates of three hospitals, which were managed by Mrs. Doughty-Wylie."

The atmosphere is charged just now with the reverberations of war, with many of its horrible attendants. None the less is it the duty of us all to smother the gruesome and to put a cheerful complexion on things for the sake of those fighting for us. Whether we use the cheering cordial on the spirits of those who are becoming convalescent from their grievous wounds, or on the general public in order to draw from them the necessary funds for aiding our heroic soldiers and their families, the object attained is praiseworthy and deserves our warmest sympathy and support. In this connection, where *artistes* are bestowing their exceptional talents, with no eye to remuneration but for the sole love of humanity, it is right that we should draw attention to those Armenians among them who are also showing a like unselfish spirit. An Oriental Matinée has been organised by the Eastern League in aid of Wounded Indian Soldiers, in connection with the Indian Soldiers' Fund, to be held at the Playhouse on Friday, June 18th, at 2.30 p.m. This is under the gracious patronage of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra. Included in the programme are Armenian and Russian Folk-Songs in costume, and these will be rendered by Miss Mannig Koran. We have already had occasion to refer more than once in these pages to Miss Koran's artistic and sympathetic temperament, and we doubt not that our readers will make the most of the occasion with the double object of assisting a good cause and of carrying away with them renewed memories of Miss Koran's artistic personality.

Then again there is to be performed at the London Opera House Tchaikovsky's *Pikovaya Dama*, "The Queen of Spades," which is the opening piece of M. Rosing's season of Russian and French grand opera. The cast is a strong one, and included among the names we noticed that of M. Zareh Tiratzian, an Armenian operatic singer who has already made his mark on the Paris stage, and has at times sung for us at our "At Homes." And, lastly, we notice the presence in London of Madame Arméne Ter Ohanian, known as a Persian dancer but of Armenian race. She, too, has given the benefit of her talents for the cause of suffering humanity, as the Red Cross and other Societies can testify; and the Paris stage knows her well. A recent writer wrote of her: "She has achieved celebrity both in her own country, where poets have vied with each other in her honour, and on the Continent, where she has fired the imagination of numberless painters, sculptors, and writers. . . . (Her) Persian miniatures have a story to tell. They are glimpses into the heart of a maiden of that ancient race that has lost well-nigh everything save only its imperishable dignity." We wish we had space enough to quote the entire lengthy article.

We welcome the appearance of *The War and the Balkans*, by Noel Buxton, M.P., and Charles Roden Buxton, as throwing a flood of light on the past, the present and the future of these States. The writers are eminently fitted for the task they have undertaken to give the public a clear insight into a problem which they have made peculiarly their own. And their right to speak will be appreciated all the more from the facts that they have been on the spot ever since the war broke out, that they have been in close and intimate communion with the leaders and people of those States, and that in their self-imposed task of reconciling jarring factions, they fell victims to a dastardly outrage which nearly cost them their lives. It was ostensibly one of the Balkan States which was the prime cause of the present conflagration in Europe, and if the mutual dissensions among these States could be obliterated and a friendly Balkan Confederation be instituted, they might yet become also the prime cause of the ending of the war. That the Entente, which is, by the entry of Italy, now Quadruple instead of Triple, is alive to the necessity of throwing oil on the troubled waters, we doubt not. The result of the fighting in the Dardanelles will assuredly produce a potent effect on the attitude of these States, and signs are not wanting to show which way their thoughts are tending. We commend a careful perusal of this latest volume on a momentous subject, which the two brothers have brought out at an opportune moment.

Russia and Armenia.

The Orange Book.

(Continued from page 365.)

III.

The extracts already given from the Orange Book in our two previous issues must have made it clear to the reader that in the Armenian Question, raised by Russia during the Turco-Balkan war, Germany and Russia alone among the Powers stand out as antagonists, Russia upholding the cause of Armenia with the support of England and France, while Germany takes the side of Turkey and is backed by the acquiescence of Austria and Italy. Although Russia appears firm in her resolution, Germany on the other hand appears to take up an even firmer attitude in her opposition. Judging of the diplomatic contest on the whole, there would seem to be a slight tendency on the part of Russia to moderate her position in deference to Germany.

GERMAN ADVOCACY OF TURKEY.

Document No. 69 is a very long despatch, dated August 30-September 12, 1913, from the Russian Ambassador in Berlin to M. Sazonoff, describing the difficulties the German Foreign Office was raising with regard to the Armenian question:—

" As to the German Government, it does not see either the possibility or the desirability of forcing Turkey to accept what she would not accept willingly.

"When, at the conclusion of our conversation, M. Jagow re-affirmed his stereotyped observation that, in his opinion, it was necessary to stop short at such a moderate project of reforms which would be acceptable to Turkey, as the Powers, after all, are not disposed to use force for the introduction of the Armenian reforms, I could not refrain from pointing out to the Foreign Secretary that Turkey would never think of raising objections to the regulations of our project, were it not for the disagreements among the Powers themselves, wherein lies the entire strength of their opposition."

With this despatch, the Ambassador sends to M. Sazonoff a memorandum by the German Government, dated Berlin September 10th, 1913, which reads as follows:—

"In the memorandum of the 29th ultimo the Imperial Russian Embassy expresses its regret at the negative result of the work of the Commission sitting at Constantinople for the Armenian reforms. The Imperial Government, using its efforts in conjunc-

tion with the Imperial Russian Government for the improvement of the situation in Armenia, thinks, however, that notwithstanding apparent disagreement, there must exist a possibility of finding a solution satisfactory to the Powers and acceptable to Turkey.

"Some important points of the Russian project can already be considered as accepted. A certain number of the delegates deemed it necessary, however, to abstain from giving their adhesion to some other points of the Russian propositions which, of course, are no less worthy of notice; but nevertheless, in our opinion, they must not be treated on the plea of *conditio sine qua non*; and the circumstance that has given rise to this conjuncture must be viewed by the consideration that those propositions would not be accepted by the Sublime Porte. According to information received from Constantinople, this view of the matter is not without foundation. Meanwhile, the Imperial Government does not find it possible, nor does it think it proper, to force Turkey to the obedience of a decision which she would not accept willingly.

"In view of these circumstances, the Imperial Government thinks that the Commission ought to recommence its work on the basis of the Turkish project. The Imperial Government is sure that the Ottoman Government, which is inspired with the best possible intentions, will not demur to introduce in its project alterations, more particularly those which are in accordance with the Russian propositions, and are approved by the entire Commission; and that it will accept the principle of the active control by the Powers over the reforms. The Imperial Government does not doubt that such a course of action would bring the Powers to an agreement with Turkey with regard to the plan of reforms, corresponding to the necessities of the present time, and these could, in the future, be completed and perfected."

By the above memorandum, Germany practically asked Russia and the Triple Entente Powers to renounce their initiative in the Armenian reform question, and to subordinate themselves to the Turkish initiative.

FIRM ATTITUDE OF M. DE GIERS.

It fell naturally to M. de Giers to be the first to protest against Germany's proposal; and under document No. 73 we find a long telegram, dated 2/15th September, from him to M. Sazonoff, which opens thus:—

"The renewal of the work of the Commission on the basis of the general Turkish law would mean the withdrawal from the preliminary project presented by us; and this I would look upon as extremely undesirable and purposeless. Besides, when the programme was considered, the Turkish law also came under the

attention of the Commission with the rest of the matter. In our programme there are fundamental points which the Armenians cannot forego—for instance, the point concerning the establishment of European control. I had a lengthy discussion with Wangenheim about the Armenian question. He adheres to the point of view that Europe does not wish to take any coercive measures whatever against Turkey; and therefore it is incumbent on us to lay before Turkey such reforms which she will willingly accept. . . . Wangenheim personally agreed with me that the following three points did not appear excessive: (1) the appointment of an Inspector-General for the two sectors which are inhabited by Armenians, by a friendly agreement among the Powers in regard to the selection of the official; (2) control exercised in conjunction with the Porte, and through the consular representatives of the Powers on the spot, with special reference to the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty; (3) the appointment of an equal number of Christians and Musulmans in the local councils and administrative offices.

"My German colleague, however, refrained from giving his consent in view of the necessity, in the first place, of ascertaining to what extent the Porte is prepared to accept these three points. He proposed that we should submit to a special consultation among the Russian, German and Turkish delegates on these three points, in order to obtain a clear idea of the intentions of the Porte. I, however, demurred to this proposal, expressing myself to the effect that he, as well as I, could immediately, in confidential conversation with the Grand Vizier, explain to him our intentions and impress them on him. Besides, I added that I did not find it possible to withdraw from these points which were calculated to prevent the Armenians from rising."

In document No. 75 we find a telegram from M. de Giers, dated 4/17th September, 1913, to the address of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. From this we learn that the Porte had applied directly to some of the Powers with a request for the recommendation of Inspectors-General for Armenia, and that this request had been refused. The German Ambassador now asks M. de Giers whether he would meet him on this point, in order that the Porte should renew its previous request to all the Powers collectively with regard to the two sectors inhabited by Armenians. M. de Giers replies to the German Ambassador that in his opinion such action of the Porte would bear altogether a casual character, and would give no guarantee for the future; besides, the Porte could at any time dismiss such Inspectors-General recommended by the Great Powers, or the Inspectors-General themselves might, on some pretext or other, be made to resign their offices.

RUSSIA FALLS MORE INTO LINE WITH GERMANY.

Document No. 76 contains a telegram from M. Neratoff, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, addressed to the Russian Ambassadors in France and England, and is dated 6/19th September, 1913. It distinctly foreshadows Russia's yielding attitude before German pressure.

"Having in view the extreme opposition which is shown by Germany to some of our measures, we have deemed it necessary to charge the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople to enter into an immediate communication with the German Ambassador and to explain the possibility of an accord being reached between the two Powers with regard to their views."

No. 78 in the volume contains a telegram from M. de Giers, dated 10/23rd September, 1913, to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and runs as follows:—

"My German colleague and I have agreed to exert our efforts in order that the Porte and the Ambassadors should accept the project of reforms for Armenia based on the following points: (1) That the Sublime Porte should decide to appeal to the Powers requesting them to recommend to the Porte two Inspectors-General for the two sectors of Eastern Anatolia—(a) Erzeroum, Trebizond, Sivas, and (b) Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekir—with whom the Porte would conclude an agreement for . . . years; at the same time the Porte would express its determination to act on the co-operation of the Powers on all occasions when these contracts might lose their power. (2) That the Porte should recognise the right of these two Inspectors-General to introduce candidates for the posts held by high officials and judges, and also the right, without exception, of dismissing any of the officials in their sectors. (3) That in each of these sectors there should be instituted an elective assembly, composed of half Musulmans and half Christians. (4) That this same principle of equality should also be effective in the distribution of all offices in both sectors. (5) That the Porte should propose that the Great Powers themselves exercise control over the application of the reforms, through their Ambassadors in Constantinople and their consuls on the spot. (6) That the Porte should propose to stipulate with the Powers concerning other reforms liable to be introduced in the two sectors of Eastern Anatolia."

In this proposed agreement an apparent victory for German diplomacy is evident. It formally destroys Russia's assumed special role in the question; and it places Turkey in the position of voluntarily making the proposals and without any external pressure. It is no wonder, therefore, that in Document No. 79 we find a telegram, dated 10/23rd September, 1913, from the Russian Ambassador in Germany to the Foreign Minister in St. Petersburg, wherein he says:—

"To-day Jagow read to me a telegram received from Constantinople, from which it is clear that the Russian and German Ambassadors have agreed on a programme of six points, and have stipulated to prepare the Grand Vizier for its acceptance. Jagow is very pleased with the achievement of this agreement of which he will inform the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments."

No. 80 in the volume is a despatch dated 11/24th September, 1913, from the Russian Embassy in London to the Russian Foreign Minister, in which it is stated that in the absence of Sir Edward Grey, Sir A. Nicholson was informed of the Russo-German agreement. It is added in this despatch that

"the immediate negotiations between us and Germany in regard to the Armenian question entirely correspond with the desire of Sir Edward Grey, who views the rectitude with which the question has been handled as a truly correct means for avoiding dangerous complications, seeing that mutual interests are involved in Asia Minor."

TURKEY RECALCITRANT.

From the subsequent despatches of M. de Giers to the Russian Foreign Minister we learn that in the acceptance of the above programme he meets with stubborn resistance from the Grand Vizier, whose arguments may be summed up in the conclusion that the acceptance of those six points would lead to the formation of two Armenias, governed by Inspectors-General, almost independent of the Porte; and that this may be the first step leading to the fall of Turkey, as her other provinces would demand similar privileges.

"The Grand Vizier added," says M. de Giers, "that it seems as if we had introduced political, and not administrative principles, while Turkey needs the latter exclusively; and it was for these (i.e., administrative principles) that the Porte had asked for European advisers. Their co-operation would have brought great benefit in the reorganisation of excise and financial institutions, though at the head of these institutions Turks would still have continued to remain. Such also must be the relationship of the foreign advisers for the introduction of order in the Anatolian provinces. I replied to the Grand Vizier that in the first place it was imperative that the Armenians should be pacified, as they were ready for revolt in the event of no guarantee being secured to them as to the stability of the reforms to be introduced; that we are not pursuing any political purpose, but by our participation in the appointment of the Inspectors-General, we merely wish to secure for ourselves the right to ensure the introduction in Armenia of order and justice, a right already secured to us by an inter-

national act, and ratified by Turkey (article 61 of the Berlin Treaty); that the Porte must not lose sight of the fact that the present programme of six points has already been approved by all the Great Powers. The Grand Vizier remarked that that was known to him, as Wangenheim and Bompard have had interviews with him in the same sense as I have done, but that he cannot alter his views. . . ."

The following documents further emphasise the fact that the Porte was altogether averse to the direct intervention of the Powers in the introduction of Armenian reforms, and it brings forward a counter-proposal to undertake reforms for the whole Ottoman Empire. The Porte expresses the hope of taking advantage, on a large scale, of the moral and material assistance so often promised by the Powers, and of applying to them to indicate such suitable persons, whose co-operation the Porte would desire to secure for the purpose. In a word, we find the Turk playing his old game. M. de Giers very appropriately explains this game in a telegram to M. Sazonoff, which will be found under document No. 92, dated 16/29th September, 1913:—

"The moving actors of the Young Turk Committee, with whom I happened to converse on the Armenian question, expressed to me the same views which yesterday the Grand Vizier so obstinately defended in his explanations to me, which entirely confirms the fact that the latter acts on their instructions. I also derived the impression that their endeavour is to make use of the Grand Vizier to deal with accomplished facts—for instance, by making appointments of Ottoman subjects to the posts of Inspectors-General for Armenia, and afterwards merely asking for recommendations to the post of foreign advisers. Apparently, one of the candidates they have in view is the Armenian Haladjian, the former Minister for Public Works, upon whom the Armenians look with extreme distrust. Talaat told me, meanwhile, that he intends to take from the army in Thrace some thousands of the best soldiers and develop out of these a gendarmerie for the seven vilayets of the two Armenian sectors. He expressed confidence that in this manner he would be able to protect the Armenians from Kurdish oppressions. In general the Young Turks are seeking to bury the Armenian question, which they look upon as most serious in the present position of Turkey, and are afraid that for every concession made to the Armenians there will arise corresponding demands by the Arabs. I replied to this, that we occupy ourselves with the Armenians because the Berlin Treaty gives us the right, and that having in view the complications in Armenia, we find it indispensable to give the Armenians a guarantee for the security of their future existence. Only a European guarantee can pacify the Armenians, and thus secure Turkey's internal peace."

No. 93 in the volume is a telegram from the Russian Ambassador in Berlin to M. Sazonoff, dated 18/31 October, 1913. The Ambassador states that the German Minister for Foreign Affairs informs him that their Ambassador in Constantinople is acting in conjunction with M. de Giers in order to further the acceptance of the project submitted by the Porte. But that if it be found impossible to carry this through, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs himself considers the proposal of the Grand Vizier acceptable in the extreme circumstances of the case, that proposal being that the Inspectors-General should be Ottoman subjects and their advisers Europeans.

"I remarked to him," adds the Ambassador, "that the subordination of the Inspectors-General to the opinion of their advisers may not be justified in practice. To this he replied that once these latter are appointed by us, there would always be the possibility of the Powers being able to influence the Porte. With this opinion I, however, could not agree."

Document No. 95 contains a telegram dated 20th October—2nd November, 1913, from M. Sazonoff to M. de Giers, which shows an apparently yielding disposition to Turco-German diplomacy. It says:—

"If Turkey appreciates an outside fencing of the authority of the Sultan, it would be possible to leave him the appointment of a *Vali*, or Viceroy of the Sultan, for each of these sectors, or for both together, on condition that its authority should bear an altogether nominal character, the Inspectors-General retaining all the competence outlined in the project.

"We can go on yielding to the form, but not to the essence of the matter."

No. 96 in the volume is a long despatch from the Russian Ambassador in Berlin to M. Sazonoff. The Ambassador states that the German Foreign Minister considers that the continuation of the co-operation of Russia and Germany in the Armenian question is essential, but that, in his opinion, it would, for the present, be better to refrain from making further representations to the Porte. With this, however, the Ambassador does not agree, on the grounds that reforms in Armenia have for Russia a most important significance, and to attain them, Russia considers it indispensable to apply some kind of coercion on Turkey. The German Foreign Secretary expresses the belief that the object can be attained without the necessity of any coercion, and that he had already conversed on the subject with Djavid Bey, who was then in Berlin, in most energetic terms, impressing on him the urgent necessity, in the interests of all Europe, as well as of that of Turkey, not to oppose the introduction in Armenia of all the reforms proposed by Russia.

To the retort of Djavid Bey, that the Russian project would infringe the Sultan's sovereign rights and that, but for Russian intrigues in Armenia, the Porte itself could easily have dealt with the indispensable reforms, the German Foreign Secretary is said to have observed that there were no Russian intrigues in the matter, but that this question, in view of the large number of Armenians living in

Russia, is one of paramount importance to her interests, and therefore it is conceivable that Russia does not consider it possible to allow any essential alteration in a most carefully elaborated project. The German Foreign Secretary is also said to have further remarked to Djavid Bey that on this occasion a perfect unanimity existed between Germany and Russia, and that by the 61st article of the Berlin Treaty Turkey herself has not only engaged to introduce reforms, but that she has also agreed to submit them to European control. The Russian Ambassador, in informing M. Sazonoff of all this, adds that he doubts the complete sincerity of the Foreign Secretary, and that he does not believe that his statements to Djavid Bey were as clear and energetic as stated.

The Ambassador continues to explain that he himself had occasion to see Djavid Bey and, taking advantage of the interview, assured him that it would be to the best interest of Turkey that she should not reject the Russian project of Armenian reforms. "I pointed out to him the fact that not only Russia, which has over a million Armenian inhabitants on her borders, but the whole of Europe as well, is most interested in the settlement of the state of affairs at present existing in Armenia." To this Djavid Bey replied that the Russian project infringes sovereign rights, and that the Porte itself has already definitely decided to give Armenia most liberal reforms. The difference in the opposing views, according to Djavid's statement, is that while Russia wants the appointment of two Inspectors-General, which Turkey can by no means assent to, as being a blow aimed at her sovereignty, the Porte proposes to appoint the same Inspectors-General from the subjects of one of the Powers by virtue of her own selection. The Ambassador continues:—

"None of the arguments brought forward by me could persuade my interviewer, to whom I said at the same time that at the present grave juncture for Turkey—when she has raised multifarious questions about her economic relations with the Powers, relations which represent most vital interests on her behalf, and which, moreover, entail most serious sacrifices on the part of Europe—the Porte ought to have shown greater adaptability and readiness to meet our wishes."

To this remonstrance of the Russian Ambassador, Djavid Bey sought to persuade him that if, until now, the introduction of reforms in Armenia has not been brought to fruition, the blame must be placed on Sultan Hamid's unstable régime, and that the present Government were ready to establish, for the secure existence of the Armenian people, all that was desirable and necessary in the matter of reforms.

The Ambassador, in ending his despatch, says that he met the British Ambassador at the Foreign Office, who informed him that, on behalf of Sir Edward Grey, he pointed out to the German Foreign Minister the desirability that Germany, in conjunction with Russia, should bring coercion to bear on Turkey towards the acceptance by her of the project of reforms.

(To be continued.)

Affairs in Armenia.

If we were to recount all the horrors that have been reported as taking place recently within the Turkish Empire, levelled mainly at the defenceless Armenians, the pages allotted to this issue would be insufficient to contain them. The moral turpitude of the Turk is no whit better or worse than that of his German ally, and what the latter has lately done to Belgium, the former has been doing to Armenia for centuries. Armenia, however, has been too far a cry to touch the sentimental feelings of Western civilisation, and in her efforts now to break loose from the Turk, who has held her in the strangling embrace of villanous misrule for so long, it is possible that her helpless population will be more than decimated before relief comes.

It is some comfort to the nation to feel that in her struggle to exist, the sympathies of the civilised Powers are vivifying towards her even at this late hour. Whatever the outcome be, the present joy of Armenians is unalloyed at the thought that the Triple Entente Powers have taken them under their wing, and that their whole-hearted determination to join in the fray as the age-long enemy of the Turk has at last received some recognition. Here is the stern warning issued on their behalf to Turkey:—

His Majesty's Government, in common with the Governments of France and Russia, make the following public declaration:—

For about the last month the Kurds and the Turkish population of Armenia have been engaged in massacring Armenians, with the connivance and often the help of the Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place about the middle of April at Erzerum, Dertchan, Egin, Bitlis, Sassoun, Moush, Zeitun, and in all Cilicia. The inhabitants of about 100 villages near Van were all assassinated, and in the town itself the Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time the Ottoman Government at Constantinople is raging against the inoffensive Armenian population.

In the face of these fresh crimes, committed by Turkey, the Allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold all the members of the Ottoman Government, as well as such of their agents as are implicated, personally responsible for such massacres.

It is a painful task to recount the horrors which have brought about this threat. In Constantinople itself, on the pretext of a plot, which is a pure invention, wholesale arrests have been made of all the influential Armenian residents, including Bishops, State Officials, members of the learned professions, and even a former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, and some have been hanged. In the district of Van, 6,000 Armenians are reported to have been massacred; while terrorism of the worst kind, accompanied by orgies of inhumanity, are rife everywhere, and especially in the region round about Cilicia. Notable names are mentioned as having been assassinated or exiled.

It is an open secret that the Catholicos has taken vigorous steps by appealing to the heads of the civilised Powers, among whom are the King of Italy and the President of the United States, to intercede and restrain, if possible, these orgies of bloodshed and persecution, where innocent women and children are the victims; and he may rest assured that the Armenian Committees in all these countries have also supported his efforts to the utmost. But to stay the flood of anarchy and fanatic fury in a region which is for the moment inaccessible is beyond the capacity of the Quadruple Entente and the United States. The Triple Entente have done by their pronouncement all they could do, and we hope that opportunity will before long be afforded for translating into deeds the solemn warnings uttered, and bringing to book those leaders—and they are known—who have been directly responsible for the hellish acts perpetrated on the Armenians.

The spirit of the able-bodied Armenian refugees may be gauged by the following letter of a correspondent in the *Horizon* of Tiflis:—

“They would not accept the comfortable homes we offered them, the supplies and food we placed at their disposal, nor the easy and agreeable employment in the fields or in the homes. They had lost their sense of ordinary daily life, and were possessed of only one burning passion; they asked us to furnish them with arms and plenty of ammunition, so that they should themselves go and avenge the horrors to which their women and children had been subjected by the Turkish soldiers and Kurdish irregulars; not, they said, to wreak vengeance on unoffending Turkish and Kurdish women and children, but on those who were responsible for the atrocities committed on Armenians.

“We armed them as they wished, and after a short rest they returned to that land of desolation which but a short time ago was a beehive of happy human beings.”

Here is one account of the many desperate straits in which the harassed inhabitants of the country have found themselves. About thirty miles to the east of Lake Van, at the village of Kharakonis, about 800 Armenians collected thousands of women and children from the neighbouring villages for protection against the dastardly acts of Turks and Kurds. Towards the end of April, after the village had been under a siege for about a fortnight, and finding themselves running short of stores and ammunition, five sturdy Armenians volunteered to run the gauntlet of the besiegers and to proceed to the Russian lines, some hundred miles away, to ask for aid, which they accomplished at imminent risk. In the mean time Saji Bey's army arrived on the scene to attack Van; but on information he had received, he diverted his force to subdue Kharakonis first. On arriving at the village, he trained his guns on the place, and the 800 Armenian defenders of women and children dashed out to a hand-to-hand combat as their only chance. The result was a certainty, for though the brave 800 accounted for a good many of their attackers, but few of their

number survived the onslaught. The behaviour of the “victorious” Turks, on their entry into the village can better be imagined than described. The young girls and women were carried off, while the rest of the women and children were put to the sword.

When the five messengers returned with the Russo-Armenian forces for the rescue of Kharakonis, it was too late! But these self-same forces have since recovered Van, and inflicted a well-merited punishment on Saji Bey and his following of Turks and Kurds.

The “exploit” of Saji Bey stands out, however, as one to be taken note of; for it brings its perpetrator well within the category of those responsible Turks who are qualifying to profit by the recent threat of the Entente Powers.

Russian and British Policy towards Armenia.

(Continued from page 385.)

II.

THE PROPOSALS OF NICHOLAS I TO ENGLAND.

The incoherency which mars the policy of England, in the Eastern question, is absent from that of Russia. The policy of Russia, until the Armenian massacres, was straightforward, aiming at humanitarian purposes, and worthy of appreciation. If only England had treated Russia with the same frankness, and agreed with her on a line of policy, the most horrible bloodshed and misery, which, for over seventy years, shattered the happiness of the Christian people in the Ottoman Empire, would have been avoided. The Emperor Nicholas I was earnestly in favour of a cordial understanding between Russia and England on all questions, both in Asia and Europe. He evidently believed that the best security for peace lay in the union of England and Russia, who were the predominant powers on sea and land. For that purpose he came to London in 1844 on a visit to Queen Victoria, and had frequent interviews with the leader of the Conservative Government, Sir Robert Peel, and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Aberdeen. The result at the time was a thorough and friendly understanding with the British Government. Upon his return to Russia the Emperor Nicholas instructed his Chancellor of the Empire, Count Nesselrode, to embody his understanding with the British Court and Cabinet in a Memorandum, which was sent to the Government of Sir Robert Peel. This most important State paper is an excellent illustration of the spirit of the agreement laid down by Nicholas I between Russia and England, and throws a flood of light on the knowledge by which Russian Statesmen had formed their traditional policy as regards the true state of the Turkish Empire:—

"Russia and England are mutually penetrated with the conviction that it is their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession now existing in that Empire, this political combination being the one which best accords with the preservation of general peace.

"Agreed as to this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts to strengthen the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and to avert all dangers by which its security may be threatened. With this object the essential thing is to allow the Porte to live in peace, without agitating it by diplomatic worries, and without interfering in its internal affairs. To put this system in practice, two things must not be lost sight of. They are as follows:—In the first place, the Porte has a constant tendency towards freeing itself from the engagements imposed upon it by the treaties which it has concluded with the other Powers; and it hopes to do this with impunity because it relies upon the mutual jealousies of the Cabinets. It believes that if it fails in its engagements towards one, the others will take up its quarrel, and will shield it against all responsibility.

"It is essential not to confirm the Porte in this illusion. Each time that it fails in its obligations towards one of the Great Powers it is the interest of all the others to make it sensible of its fault, and to exhort it seriously to render justice to the Cabinet which seeks reparation. As soon as the Porte sees itself not maintained by the other Cabinets it will yield; and the differences which may have arisen will disappear through the medium of conciliation, without any conflict taking place.

"A second cause exists for the complications inherent in the situation of the Porte; the difficulty of bringing into accord the respect due to the sovereign authority of the Sultan founded on the Musulman law, and the concessions due to the interests of the Christian population of the empire

"This difficulty is not to be denied. In the actual condition of the European mind the Cabinets cannot with indifference see the Christian populations of Turkey subject to flagrant vexations and to religious intolerance. This truth must be impressed without cessation on the Ottoman Ministers, who must be persuaded that they can only count on the friendship and support of the Great Powers on condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte being treated with tolerance and mildness.

"While they insist on this truth, the foreign representatives must, on the other side, use all their influence to maintain the Christian subjects of the Porte in submission towards the sovereign authority. Guided by these principles the foreign representatives must act between themselves in a perfect spirit of concord. If remonstrances are addressed to the Porte, they must bear a character of unanimity without any one Power putting itself forward exclusively.

"Proceeding on this system with all calmness and moderation, the representatives of the Great Cabinets of Europe will have the best chance of succeeding without provoking such complications as might compromise the peace of the Ottoman Empire. If all the Great Powers adopt frankly this line of conduct they may hope with reason to preserve the existence of Turkey.

"It is impossible, however, not to see what elements of dissolution are contained within this empire. Imperious circumstances may hasten its fall without its being possible for the united Cabinets to prevent such a result, inasmuch as it is not given to human foresight to trace beforehand a plan of action for such an unexpected case. It would be premature to take into consideration eventualities which may never be realised. In the uncertainty which weighs upon the future, one fundamental idea seems alone capable of practical application. It is this—that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, the case occurring, Russia and England understand one another as to the course to be pursued by both in common. This understanding will be all the more salutary, inasmuch as it will receive the complete assent of Austria. Between Austria and Russia a perfect conformity of principles as regards the affairs of Turkey already exists, the interest of both Powers being conservation and peace. To render the union more efficacious, the one thing to desire would be to see England associated with them in the same object. The reasons for aiming at the establishment of this accord are very simple. By land, Russia exercises on Turkey a preponderating influence; on sea, England occupies the same position. Isolated, the influence of these two powers might do a good deal of harm; combined, it may do much good. Hence the utility of a preliminary understanding before taking action.

"This idea was adopted in principle during the stay of the Emperor at London. It has resulted in a conditional engagement to the effect that if anything unforeseen should occur in Turkey, Russia and England would concert together as to what course they should follow in common. The objects with which Russia and England would have to come to an understanding may be thus formulated:—

"1. The maintenance of the Ottoman Empire in its present condition for so long a time as this political combination may be possible.

"2. If we see beforehand that it is breaking up, a preliminary understanding to be arrived at as to the establishment of a new order of things, destined to replace that which now exists; and precautions to be taken in common, that no change occurring in the internal situation of that empire may threaten the security of our own States and the rights which the treaties guarantee to them respectively, or the maintenance of the European equilibrium.

"With the objects thus formulated, the policy of Russia and that of Austria are closely bound together by the principle of

complete solidarity. If England, as the principal maritime Power, acts in concert with them, there is reason to believe that France will find herself obliged to follow the course decided upon between St. Petersburg, London and Vienna. All possibility of conflict between the Great Powers being thus averted, it may be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such grave circumstances.

"It is with the view of assuring this result to the interests of all, that Russia and England should come to a preliminary understanding between themselves, as agreed upon by the Emperor with the Ministers of Her Britannic Majesty during his stay in England."

This document would certainly appeal to any student of the Eastern Question as a masterpiece of foresight. It must have been either a mystery of diplomacy or a stubborn prejudice that made the agreement fail, and consequently caused the Christian races of the Turkish Empire to pass through a life of hell.

Already by 1852 Nicholas I had come to the conclusion that Turkey could not be very long upheld; and again he took England into his confidence as to the wisest course to pursue when the catastrophe came. With perfect frankness he expressed himself to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a series of confidential conversations. The Sick Man at Constantinople, said the Tsar, is on his death-bed; England and Russia are more concerned in the future of his empire than any other Power; let them come to an agreement as to what is best to be done when the collapse takes place. He then proceeded to sketch a policy whereby France and Austria were also to have their legitimate aspirations satisfied. The greater part of his political predictions have ever since been, independently but gradually, realised with almost prophetic exactitude, though after enormous sacrifices; the rest is already in the course of realisation through the guns now sounding all around the crumbling Empire of the Turk. But the Emperor's statement of 1852 as regards England and Constantinople is of some significance at the present moment:—

"With regard to Constantinople," said Nicholas I to the British Ambassador, "I am not under the same illusion as Catherine II. On the contrary, I regard the immense extent of Russia as her real danger. I should like to see Turkey strong enough to be able to make herself respected by the other Powers. But if she is doomed to perish, Russia and England should come to an agreement as to what should be put in her place. I propose to form the Danubian Principalities, with Serbia and Bulgaria, into one independent State, placed under the protection of Russia; and I declare that Russia has no ambition to extend her sovereignty over the territories of Turkey. England might take Egypt and Crete; but I could not allow her to establish herself at Constantinople, and this I say frankly. On the other hand, I would under-

take to promise, on my part, never to take Constantinople, if the arrangement which I propose should be concluded between Russia and England. If, indeed, Turkey were to go suddenly to pieces before the conclusion of that Convention, I would not of course promise not to do so."

On another occasion Nicholas I said again to the British Ambassador:—

"I would not permit any Power so strong as England to occupy the Bosphorus, by which the Dnieper and the Don find their way into the Mediterranean. While the Black Sea is between the Don, the Dnieper, and the Bosphorus, the command of those Straits would destroy the commerce of Russia and close to her fleet the road to the Mediterranean. If an Emperor of Russia should one day chance to conquer Constantinople, or should find himself forced to occupy it permanently, and fortify it with a view to making it impregnable, from that day would date the decline of Russia. If he did not transfer his residence to the Bosphorus, his son, or at least his grandson would. The change would certainly be made sooner or later, for the Bosphorus is warmer, more agreeable, more beautiful than Petersburg or Moscow; and if once the Tsar were to take up his abode at Constantinople, Russia would cease to be Russia. No Russian would like that. There is not a Russian who would not like to see a Christian crusade for the delivery of the Mosque of Saint Sophia; I should like as much as anyone. But nobody would like to see the Kremlin transported to the Seven Towers."

ENGLAND VERSUS RUSSIA.

It is clear from these statements that Nicholas I for over eight years, until a year before the Crimean War, aspired to promote the principle of an agreement between Russia and England. The principle of the Tsar's policy was distinctly that the fate of Turkey and the final disposal of her territories should be a matter for Russia and England to determine; it also left the impression that some mysterious factor was undermining the existence of the Turkish Empire. The British Court, Lord Aberdeen and the majority of his Ministers, as we saw, were favourable to an understanding with Russia. Yet they had to yield before the influence of Lord Palmerston, the most popular member in the Cabinet. He looked at the Tsar's policy with distrust; he considered that the fate of Turkey was a matter for Europe to determine, and not for one or two of the Powers, as otherwise a great European war might arise. Lord Palmerston had with him the Parliament, the Press, and public opinion. Subsequent actions of Russia were interpreted as violations of the public law of Europe; and England was forced to join Louis Napoleon and the Sultan against the Emperor Nicholas in the Crimean War.

However praiseworthy may have seemed the motive of Lord Palmerston on behalf of Europe, or in the interest of the Christian races in Turkey, the following results of that policy are undeniable: The deterioration, instead of the amelioration, of the condition of the Christians in Turkey; the gradual dismemberment of Turkey ever since; the resuscitation, by the wisdom of King Edward VII, of the policy of Emperor Nicholas, contemptuously trampled over by Palmerston and buried by Beaconsfield; and, the present overthrow of Turkey by the joint co-operation of England and Russia. These, by themselves, are the strongest possible proofs against the validity of Lord Palmerston's policy, and a complete condemnation of Lord Beaconsfield's protection of a cruel, corrupt, and frightful despotism, which has been a curse to humanity.

At the time of the Balkan troubles of 1876, Disraeli's anti-Russian policy was gaining ascendancy with British public opinion. The protests, the revolutionary movements, and the uprising of the Slavonic Christian subjects of the Sultan were, as a rule, considered as intrigues by Russia in order to occupy the country, or to extend her protectorate. To counter-balance this suspicion, Lord Beaconsfield's Government had apparently become the veiled champion of Turkey. It was in view of such a rôle that Prince Gortchakoff, in replying to Lord Derby's invitation to the Conference at Constantinople uttered the following warning against too formal a recognition of the independence of the Sultan, as likely to hamper negotiations:—

"If the Great Powers wish to accomplish a real work, and not expose themselves to the periodical and aggravated return of this dangerous crisis, it is impossible that they should persevere in the system which permits the germs of it to exist and develop with the inflexible logic of facts. It is necessary to escape from this vicious circle, and to recognise that the independence and integrity of Turkey must be subordinated to the guarantees demanded of humanity, the sentiments of Christian Europe, and the general peace. The Porte has been the first to infringe the engagement which she contracted by the Treaty of Paris with regard to her Christian subjects. It is the right and duty of Europe to dictate to her the conditions on which alone it can on its part consent to the maintenance of the *status quo* created by that Treaty; and since the Porte is incapable of fulfilling them, it is the right and duty of Europe to substitute itself for her to the extent necessary to insure their execution. Russia can, less than any other Power, consent to renew the experiences of palliatives, of half-measures, of illusory programmes, which have led to the results which are under the eyes of all, and which react on her tranquility and internal prosperity; but if she is more directly and more sensibly interested in putting an end to it by real and adequately guaranteed improvements, she none the less considers this question one of general interest, calling for the concord of all the Powers with a view to its pacific solution. With reference to

the personal views which she brings into the pursuit of this object, they are free from all exclusive *arrière-pensées*: the most positive assurances in this respect have many times been given by the Imperial Cabinet." *

The English friends of Armenia, who were horrified by the Armenian massacres and shocked by the policy of Russia, ought to ponder well over this sound and logical statement of Prince Gortchakoff, wherein they would probably discover for themselves *whether it was Russian or British diplomacy that was responsible for the Armenian massacres*, the greatest of massacres in the history of Turkish barbarism. Those, too, who, in their wisdom, still affect to inculcate the broken-down formula of "future Armenian autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan" will unfailingly see the absurdity of their arguments, when they brood over the skilful declaration of Prince Gortchakoff. Can it be conceivable that Russia, as well as England of the present day, could ever consent to renew, in any form, the experiences of palliatives, of *half-measures*, of *illusory programmes*, without deciding to give a positive solution to the question which has so much reacted on the tranquility and good understanding between the former Governments of Russia and England?

The critics of the Russian policy on the Armenian question will pause once more at the contemplation of another despatch of Prince Gortchakoff, dated November 13th, 1876:—

"The Imperial Cabinet, finding itself in presence of a question where political interests should make way before the universal interest of humanity and European peace, has done its utmost to bring about an agreement among the Great Powers. For itself, it will neglect no effort in order that this agreement may bring about a practical and substantial result, and one which will satisfy the exigencies of public opinion and of general peace. But while diplomacy has been deliberating for a whole year with a view to reduce to practice the combined wishes of Europe, the Porte has had time to summon from the recesses of Asia and Africa the *ban* and the *arrière-ban* of the disciplined forces of Islamism to arouse Musulman fanaticism, and to crush under the weight of its numbers the Christian populations who are struggling for their very existence. The perpetrators of the horrible massacres which have so shocked Europe remain unpunished, and at this very moment their example tends to propagate and perpetuate throughout the whole of the Ottoman Empire, and in full view of indignant Europe, similar acts of violence and barbarism. . . . His Imperial Majesty does not wish for war, and will do his utmost to avoid it; but he is determined not to halt before the principles which have been recognised by the whole of Europe as just, humane, and necessary, and which public opinion in Russia has taken up with the greatest energy, have been fully carried out and secured by efficient guarantees."

* Turkey, No. 1 (1877), p. 719.

Lord Beaconsfield had wholly decided not to trust Russia, however sincere and in accord with the true state of affairs her arguments might have appeared. In every attitude of Russia he would seem to have perceived a tendency to predominance and dictatorship, and he had made up his mind to frustrate it.

As the time advanced, the situation became worse, and in the midst of the crisis of 1877 Prince Gortchokoff said :—

“It is really painful to see two great States, which together might regulate European questions for their mutual advantage and the benefit of all, excite themselves and the world by an antagonism founded on prejudice or misunderstanding.” *

Later on in a despatch of the same year, in alluding to Prince Bismark's fierce indignation, he said :—

“ If only Great Britain and Russia would come to a friendly understanding, not a cannon would be fired in Europe without their consent. . . . ”

Russia, although grieved at the attitude of England, was, nevertheless, even at that moment, disposed to come to a friendly understanding with her. But it appears that Lord Beaconsfield was inflexible and only inclined to put obstacles in the way of such an understanding.

When the Russo-Turkish War was over, nothing was left undone by Disraeli's policy to aggrieve Russia against England. And England alone stood in the eyes of Russia as her real, implacable enemy.

THE ASCENDENCY OF RUSSIA.

During the last hundred years the civilised world from time to time has been excited by fear of the preponderance of Russia in Europe. Although he failed disastrously, it was with the intention of crushing this apparent danger that Napoleon Bonaparte, with his formidable army, undertook his great invasion of Russia. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Europe was once again alarmed by the same fear of Russian ascendancy. And this time the question of the territorial integrity of Turkey served as a pretext for England, France and Sardinia to combine their naval and military forces by the side of Turkey, and to fight Russia in the Crimea for more than two years.

Disraeli had his own part to play in this anti-Russian policy by which public opinion, in England, was then guided. As an active and leading statesman of England, he subsequently developed this bent to such a degree that its effects, while not diminishing the existing Russian ascendancy, favoured Turkey and became detrimental to millions of Christians who were compelled to live under Turkish misrule.

Lord Beaconsfield, before the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, had arranged a plan of campaign against Russia. An attempt was to have been made to raise Turkestan against her in preparation for an invasion from India, and British troops were also to be landed at Trebizond and an attack made on Russia from that side also.

Strangely enough this plan closely coincides with the ideal of another famous Russophobe Jew, Professor Arminius Vambéry, as his *Travels in Central Asia and the East* testify. It is immaterial to wonder whether there was, or there was not, any expression of this mutual sympathy between these two great friends of the East ; but the fact remains that Lord Salisbury, who was not a believer in the regeneration of the Turks and, moreover, was friendly to Russia, with the assistance of his colleagues prevented Lord Beaconsfield from joining Turkey against Russia. Frederick Greenwood, a great friend of Beaconsfield, on the occasion of the Armenian massacres, in a signed article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 16th September, 1896, made the following assertion, in reference to Lord Beaconsfield's policy :—

“Disraeli's policy during the Russo-Turkish war was a policy of armed intervention. He would have fought the Russians in alliance with the Turks. If he could, he would have raised Turkestan against the Russians at the same time for the relief of our Indian frontier ; measures to that effect were considered, if not arranged. That was what he proposed to do and would have done but for the strong opposition of his colleagues in the Cabinet. His motive ? . . . It is true that Disraeli was a Jew, was pleased with the grandiose, would no doubt have liked to link his name with a memorable Eastern enterprise, and was probably grateful to those Mohomedan Turks who were so good to his people. . . Disraeli thought this policy good, because it bolstered up the British Empire, and did so not in keeping up Turkey, but in keeping Russia down.”

This justification of Lord Beaconsfield's policy was unwarranted, for it is unimaginable that England, as she is situated, could by any expeditionary force, in alliance with a corrupt Turkey and in reliance on the mob of semi-barbarous tribes of Central Asia, ever succeed in keeping down a progressive and a vast empire of immense resources.

Furthermore, the same writer shapes Lord Beaconsfield's policy on stronger arguments with the following expressions :—

“The whole tenor and purpose of what I wrote, its intention and meaning in every line, is to the following effect :—Russia cannot be kept down ; her ascendancy over England and Europe—but particularly over England—is complete ; and the last chance of keeping Russia out of the dictatorship which she now holds was lost when Disraeli's policy of 1877-78 was disallowed by his colleagues. . . . Disraeli's anxiety was to prevent in 1878 what was fully accomplished in 1895, the absolute predominance of Russia in Europe and the East too. . . . His motive was the postponement to a far future of the dictatorship which England is now compelled to acknowledge. What is unintelligently called bolstering up the Turkish Empire was the seizing of an opportunity of rolling back the half-crippled Russian

* Turkey, No. 2 (1877), p. 736.

armies in ruin, breaking down the Russian prestige in Asia, and therewith destroying all idea of Russian ascendancy for many a decade. . . . No doubt Disraeli saw that this opportunity, if lost, would be the last. And that it *was* the last. Europe must be turned topsy-turvy before another recurs.

"So far, then, from believing it 'still possible to keep Russia down,' I complain that she has been allowed a position of absolute mastery which there is no present hope of shaking. . . . If Disraeli's policy had been permitted, and had been fairly successful, there would have been no Russian dictatorship in Turkey, and, at any rate for the present, no Russian mastery in Europe. To England would have been restored the most commanding voice at the Porte. And it would have forestalled the Russian dictatorship under which the Armenians perish and the Sultan is shielded. . . ."

This was a splendid vindication of Lord Beaconsfield's policy! But surely neither the Armenians nor any other Christian subjects of the Turks, can ever be found to admire the ingenuity of that policy, whereby no farther back than the Armenian massacres, the Bulgars perished and the Sultan was shielded.

P. TONAPETEAN.

(To be continued.)

Local Jottings.

RANGOON, CALCUTTA AND SINGAPORE.

I.

In our last issue we gave a comprehensive account of the preliminary steps taken in Calcutta to start a relief fund for Armenian refugees in the Caucasus. It is with equal pleasure that we now reproduce an account of similar proceedings held in Rangoon, our information being gathered from *The Rangoon Times* and *The Rangoon Gazette* of March 29th. A general meeting of the Armenian community was called for Saturday, March 27th, and it was appropriately held in the Town Hall, where mustered a goodly number of ladies and gentlemen. The importance of the occasion, and the urgency of the need could not have been better emphasised than it was by the fact that the chair was taken by Sir Charles Fox, Chief Judge of the Province. With so good a start, it is no wonder that we are able to announce on another page in this issue that we have already received two instalments of the contributions from Burma amounting to £400, which have been transmitted to meet urgent needs in the proper quarter.

Sir Charles Fox, in opening the proceedings, said :—

"Ladies and gentlemen, we have met to consider proposals for the best means of increasing the Armenian War Refugees' Relief Fund which has been started here. Armenia is one of the cock-pits of this dreadful war, and apart from wanton atrocities which may be asserted on one side and denied on the other, we may be sure that the condition of the inhabitants of the fighting area is as woeful as that of the inhabitants of the other fighting areas—Belgium, part of France, Poland and part of Austria. It is one of the ironies of war that the poorest—the people who earn least though they may work hardest—the least ambitious, are the greatest sufferers from contests started as this one has been with the object of satisfying the ambitions of the already rich and mighty. The humble home of the peasant in the village or on a farm is shattered by foe or by friend because it may afford some advantage to the enemy. There is nothing for the poor owners to do but to fly, leaving their little treasures and store of food which they counted on to keep them alive until the next harvest. The fighting area in Armenia has been in mountainous country, and the poor people have had to leave their homes and trudge their weary way to find some place of refuge in the most bitter cold and in the face of appalling difficulties. Sad as is the fate of the poor Belgians and Poles, that of the poor Armenians is perhaps the saddest of all. Your people have no government to organise help for them. They are subjects of a government which to say the least has had little regard for their welfare. In appealing for help for the poor Armenian refugees I think it unnecessary, and I think it would be unwise, to refer to what with some might be a discordant note. I refer to past treatment of your race by one of the governments to which they are subject. To loosen the purse strings of the charitable it should be sufficient to point to the fact that part of the country inhabited by your race is one of the scenes of war. The horrors which have been happening in other fighting areas must necessarily have been happening in Armenia also. Your people have no one in their own country to help them. Their only hope must be that help will come from outside. Naturally they will feel especially grateful if they find that people of their own race, who have prospered in other lands, have not forgotten the land of their birth or of their ancestors' birth. We may be sure also that charity bestowed on the poor Armenian refugees by any member of the public will find a fitting reward in the consciousness that it has been bestowed on deserving objects. I have been asked to move the following proposal: 'That the co-operation and support of the representative members of the various communities of Rangoon, of public bodies and associations, be solicited with the view of extending the scope of activity in the laudable efforts now being made by the Armenians in Burma for obtaining dona-

tions and subscriptions for their recently organised relief fund on behalf of their unfortunate countrymen, in the arena of war in Armenia, the home of their ancestors.' In doing this I call the attention of the public to the fact that this is the first time that the Armenians in Burma have ever asked for public subscriptions for any of their countrymen in distress, and also I would remind the public that in all charitable projects that have been advocated in Burma, the Armenians have stood forth as worthy supporters both in material help and in the help which their members have given in organising and in collecting subscriptions. I will now ask Mr. Agabeg to second this proposal."

The proceedings consisted thereafter in seconding the main proposal, and in proposing and seconding resolutions for the management of the Fund thus inaugurated. Space does not permit us to reproduce the speeches of Mr. A. Agabeg, the Rev. Ter Vahan Aghan, Mr. O. J. Bagram, Mr. W. Shircore and others, but suffice it to say that the following strong management is responsible for drawing the liberal contributions, to which we have already referred, from this by no means a large colony:—

Patron—A. Agabeg; Vice-Patron—A. Minus; Hon. Secretary—M. Joakim; Chairman—W. Shircore; Vice-Chairman—J. A. Vertannes; Hon. Treasurer—J. N. Manook.

II.

We gave a full account of the Calcutta meeting in our last issue, when Rs. 22,020 were collected for the Distress Fund. A correspondent sends us further details of the progress made both by direct collections and through entertainments.

On April 8th, a grand Variety Concert was given at the Grand Opera House under the patronage of their Excellencies Lord and Lady Carmichael, in aid of three deserving causes, at the head of which stood the Armenian Relief Fund. Both amateur and professional talent were highly appreciated, and, judging by the size of the audience, the pecuniary results must have been extremely satisfactory. Then again there was an entertainment, specially for the Armenian Fund, at the Conservatoire, organised by the Ladies' Committee, which was also a great success. And on March 27th, a Fete was held on the lawn of the Armenian Club for the same purpose, when the net proceeds, thanks to the efforts of the ladies of the Committee, exceeded Rs. 1,700.

On the other hand, the contributions pouring into the hands of the Treasurer of the Fund, Mr. A. Stephen, rapidly grew from a total of Rs. 22,020 to Rs. 33,945, as shown in the following published lists:—

ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND (CALCUTTA).

2nd List of Subscriptions.—Amount previously subscribed, Rs. 22,020: Messrs. M. V. Apcar and Co., Rs. 2,500; Mr. Joakim Nahapiet, Rs. 1,000; Mrs. Joakim Nahapiet, Rs. 500; Mr. A. T. Creet

(second donation), Rs. 500; Mrs. G. O. Johannes, Rs. 30; Mr. J. A. John, Rs. 25; Kallu Babu Lal Chand, Rs. 200; Miss Avdall (first donation), Rs. 10; Mr. F. W. Carter, Rs. 100; Mr. A. Nicolides, Rs. 50; Mr. G. C. Thaddeus (from Darjeeling), Rs. 20; Mr. M. A. Manuk, Rs. 20; Mr. T. B. Sookias, Rs. 100; total, Rs. 27,075.

3rd List.—Amount previously subscribed, Rs. 27,075; Messrs. Balmer Lawrie and Co., Rs. 1,500; Messrs. Jardine Skinner and Co., Rs. 1,500; Mr. T. M. Thaddeus, Rs. 1,000; A Wellwisher, Rs. 250; Mr. Geo. H. Creet, Rs. 200; Miss Helen Gregory, Rs. 100; Mr. E. H. Bray, Rs. 100; Mr. C. A. Mackertich, Rs. 50; Mrs. N. G. Arathoon, Rs. 30; A Friend, Rs. 100; A Friend, Rs. 25; Mr. S. D. Nahapiet, Rs. 20; total, Rs. 31,950.

4th List.—Amount previously subscribed, Rs. 31,950; Mr. A. M. Arathoon (first donation), Rs. 1,000; Mr. V. N. Arratoon, Rs. 90; A Friend, Rs. 100; Mr. Thomas A. Apcar, Rs. 20; A Sympathiser, Rs. 10; Alec. Alexander (from Dacca), Rs. 25; Miss Avdall (second donation), Rs. 40; Esmail Ebrahim Salejee, Rs. 250; A. R. Bukhsh Ellahi, Rs. 150; An Armenian, Rs. 100; Mr. L. A. Creet (from Kalipahari), Rs. 25; the Armenian Community of Peshawar:—Mr. Lucas A. Joseph, Rs. 25; Mr. Lazarus Joseph, Rs. 100; Mr. Zecharia Damilian, Rs. 20; Mr. Moses Sarkies, Rs. 5; Mrs. Arratoon, Rs. 20; Miss K. Hyrapiet, Rs. 5; Mr. T. Hyrapiet, Rs. 10; grand total, Rs. 33,945.

III.

From Singapore we have been furnished by a correspondent with the account of a pleasing function which was enacted at the departure of the Armenian chaplain of that place, and brings into relief the cordial feelings existing between Russians and Armenians, not only in the Caucasus, but also half-way round the circumference of the earth. We reproduce from *The Straits Times* of April 15th the account of this exchange of mutual feelings of gratitude and fraternisation, which bodes well for future relations between the two nations:—

FAREWELL TO REV. N. PAUL.

RUSSIAN THANKS FOR CHRISTIAN SERVICES.

On Monday at the east wharf, Tanjong Pagar, a very pleasant function took place on board the Dilwara, when Mr. Rospopoff, Consul-General for Russia, presented an address to the Reverend N. Paul, the Armenian chaplain, who left that day for Calcutta. Almost the entire Armenian community had gathered in the saloon to witness the presentation and wish *bon voyage* to the Reverend Father.

The Russian Consul presented an official letter to the Rev. N. Paul which read as follows: It is a great honour and pleasure to me to transmit to Your Honour the following translation of a letter received from home:—"The Chief of the General Navy Staff having

submitted to the State Secretary for the Navy the report of the Russian Consul dated November 12, 1914, sub. No. 328, His Majesty's Aide-de-Camp, Admiral Gregorovitch ordered the General Staff to request the Imperial Consulate to convey to the Armenian Colony of Singapore and personally to the Chaplain of the local Gregorian Church, the Right Reverend Father Paul, His Excellency's most cordial thanks for their feelings of Christian sympathy with the fate of the Russian sailors who perished with the cruiser Zhemtchug." Joining my personal sincerest thanks to those of His Excellency the Minister of the Navy, I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you my highest regards and, in the name of all local Orthodox Russians, our deep appreciation of the Christian care you were always so ready to display towards us. Wishing you a most pleasant voyage and best success in your high mission of Christian service, I am happy to remain, Your Honour's most obedient servant (signed N. Rospopoff, Consul-General for Russia).

The Reverend Paul, in bidding farewell to his flock, expressed his sincere thanks in Armenian to Mr. Rospopoff and proposed his health in an address which, as interpreted by Mr. S. A. Edgar, was couched in the following terms:—"I thank your Excellency for the great honour you have conferred on me and beg of you to convey my profound gratitude to his Excellency the Minister of the Navy. I am deeply moved by the message which he had the honour and pleasure to send me. The Armenians all over the world are sincerely grateful to great Russia for the part she has always played for the protection of oppressed Armenians. I pray that the brave Russian army and their Allies will meet with a speedy and glorious victory in this great war." The health of His Majesty the Czar, Emperor of all the Russias, was enthusiastically drunk, and this brought the function to a close.

Armenian Refugees' Relief Fund.

The progress of our Fund is still maintained, having now reached a total of over £7,000; and this month we have the satisfaction of recording substantial additions to it from Armenian colonies in the Far East, where are to be found many readers of "Ararat," who have come to look upon our Association as a parent society which has taken upon itself the welfare of our nation in English-speaking countries. Our feelings are the more intense that the efforts of "Ararat" in bringing matters before the public gaze have resulted, not only in shedding considerable light on the state of affairs in Armenia, but have succeeded, by the publicity given in its pages, in opening the flood-gates of charity which otherwise might have remained a much slower and a more restricted outpouring.

An account of the enthusiasm prevailing in our colonies in the East we have reserved for another article in this issue. Here we will content ourselves by merely giving the financial transactions of the past month.

Since our last issue, the following sums have been received:—
£ s. d.

Armenian Colony in Burma—			
1st instalment	..	..	250 0 0
2nd instalment	..	..	150 0 0
Armenian Colony in Singapore	..	..	310 0 0
Armenian Colony in Hongkong	..	..	100 0 0
Armenian Colony in Bangkok, Siam	..	..	16 8 1
Through Mrs. Diana Agabeg Apar, 7th list	..	..	1 4 4
Do. do. by sale of patriotic postcards	..	..	0 14 0
<hr/>			
Total received in May	..	..	828 6 5
Previous month's balance in hand	..	..	118 10 1
Remitted to the Catholicos to end of April	6,100	0	0
<hr/>			
Grand total	..	..	£7,046 16 6

From the sum collected during the month of May, two remittances have been made to His Holiness the Catholicos, one of £310, being the contribution from Singapore; and the other of £500, being £400 from Burma and £100 from Hongkong, or a total of £810 during the month. The entire sum thus remitted from the beginning and up to the time of our going to press amounts to £6,910 0s. 0d. There is now left a balance in our hands of £136 16s. 6d.

With regard to the sums received during May, we attach such details as have been furnished to us by the remitters.

The contributors in the 7th list from Mrs. Diana Agabeg Apar from Yokohama are—

K. M. H.	..	..	..	2 Yen.
Anonymous	..	..	..	5 "
Sympathiser	..	..	..	5 "

Total .. 12 Yen=£1 4 4

Some of the patriotic postcards which are being sold by her have also been sent to us for sale at 1s. each, and can be obtained from the Association.

Mr. M. Joakim, the Hon. Secretary of the Burma Fund, writes:—

"We are sending you by cable to-day £250 through the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, to be remitted to the proper quarter in the name of The Armenian War Refugees' Relief Fund of Burma for relief work. This first remittance is all practically collected from Armenians, the remittances to follow will be those from the general public of Burma."

The contribution from Bangkok is made up by the following four gentlemen:—Messrs. C. A. Edgar, George Edgar, Mack S. Arathoon, and M. A. Carapiet.

The Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund.

It is satisfactory to be able to record continued support and increasing interest in our Fund on the part of the public. Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P., has sent a munificent cheque for £40, raising his contribution in all to £50. Mr. H. H. Eaton has sent £10. A cheque came from the Indian hills from one who wishes to be anonymous, while the Rev. L. A. Foyster sent £2 from New Brunswick. Mr. J. Bray sent £3 and Miss J. C. Haddock a like amount. The Rev. W. Popham Hosford sends £2 2s., Miss M. Collas (Jersey) £2. Donors of £1 are Miss A. M. Du Cane, Miss M. Neill, and Mrs. Thompson. Mrs. Macloghlin sends £1 1s., and there are various smaller contributions. Mr. J. Madill sent £3 1s., which he kindly collected for us in Ireland.

The Rev. John Macmillan, D.D., of Belfast, and B. R. Balfour, Esq., D.L., the representative in Ireland of Friends of Armenia, have most kindly issued a printed appeal inviting contributions on behalf of our Fund, which is being circulated in Ireland.

A letter has been received from H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Moscow acknowledging receipt of the £600 cabled out by our Hon. Treasurer, in which he says that he has passed the money on to His Holiness the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin for his relief funds.

On May 21st we were able to send off nearly 1,700 warm garments of various kinds, with many hundreds of bandages and packages of surgical dressings, etc., *en route* for Tiflis. Nearly 300 of the garments were made by members of the Armenian Ladies' Guild. Mrs. Gudenian and Miss Lily John, of the Armenian Ladies' Guild, and Miss Laxton of the Armenian Society, very kindly lent their aid in sorting and preparing the things for despatch. A large case containing 252 children's garments from Mrs. Diana A. Apcar, of Yokohama, which had reached London, is being sent to Russia, together with the above things. Once again we have to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Secretary of the Russian Government Supply Committee for his great kindness in instructing his agents to pack our things and forward them to Liverpool for conveyance by Government steamer to Archangel free of all cost to us.

We trust the kind friends of Armenia who have enabled us to send this help will go on working for the same end. It is feared that distress will be great among the Armenian population in the Caucasus for some time to come. We hope later on to be able to send a further consignment of garments. Socks, stockings, warm shirts and vests will be specially welcome.

In conclusion, we beg most earnestly for more financial support. A doctor, who was recently caring for the wounded in the fighting line in Armenia, has begged us to send out what drugs we can, especially quinine. The stock of drugs in the Caucasus is exhausted, and this want causes much suffering which might be avoided. We will gladly

do all that the generosity of the public makes possible. The Fund amounts to £1,470, of which £1,000 has been cabled out in money. Donations may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. A. Godson Bohn, at 17, Holland Villas Road, Kensington, or to the Hon. Secretary, Miss E. J. Robinson, at 35a Elsham Road, Kensington.

EMILY J. ROBINSON.

Literary Section.

Prophecy and a Saintly Mind.

It is a common saying that a poet is a seer, and this aphorism may be supplemented by the apposite statement that a saintly mind is endowed with the gift of prophecy. Anything connected with the late Khrimean *Hairik* will be read with the utmost interest by all Armenians, and when it is a posthumous work of that spiritually-minded man, who is described by an English writer—the late H. F. B. Lynch, author of the classical work *Armenia*—as “the ideal of a high priest, a figure which steps straight out from the Old Testament with all the fire and all the poetry,” we feel sure that the extraordinary prophetic utterances of his, in the guise of a poem—*A Meeting of Kings*—will excite the interest at the present time of a wider circle of readers than merely Armenians.

When, therefore, the existence of this manuscript was brought to our notice, we at once offered it a place among our pages, and our intention is to reproduce it in pamphlet form with a full account of the author, as we are certain that the demand for it will be great. The profits on the sale of this pamphlet, at a shilling a copy, will be devoted to the funds of The Armenian Refugees' Relief Fund.

The possessor of the manuscript, Mr. P. Tonapetean, thus writes:

“I first had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the then Archbishop Khrimean in 1886 at Constantinople. The next time I met him was at Etchmiadzin in 1903, as the Nation's unanimously elected Head of the Armenian Church. During my stay there I spent nearly every evening in conversation with His Holiness, who, notwithstanding his great age of 83 years, was still full of his natural spirit and wit.

“One day he handed me a Manuscript, saying, ‘This cannot be published now in Russia. Take it with you to your free England; peradventure you will publish it there one day.’ A few weeks later, while in Moscow, I read this interesting Manu-

script at the late Professor Khalatiantz's house in the presence of two other intimate friends, the lawyer Stepan Mamikonoff and the poet Alexander Zatourian, both well-known Armenians of Russia.

"It is not so much the poetical talent that is so striking in these lines, as the symbolical characterisation of each individual Great Power, and in judging of the merits of the poem we should bear well in mind that Khrimean knew no other language but Armenian and Syrian.

"When, one day after the outbreak of the present war, I happened to read the Manuscript again, I was struck by its prophetic nature, the most striking feature being that Khrimean had brought the King of little Belgium into evidence in the meeting of the Greatest Kings of the Earth, and had put into his mouth a most emblematic and magnanimous speech. All the Sovereigns mentioned by him are now involved in the war. Another strange feature is that Khrimean has omitted the King of Italy from this conference of Kings. A further striking prediction has been put into the mouth of Sultan Abdul Hamid, that *this terrible struggle will end by the fall of Turkey, and that the world will then enter into Peace*, a prediction whose fulfilment no nation looks forward to more prayerfully than the Armenians."

A Meeting of Kings.

(Translation of a posthumous work by Khrimean Hairik.)

Either by chance or choice, the nations' kings
Met in Assembly, and in earnest mood
And dubious wonder, sought to penetrate
Each other's secret councils: Was, indeed;
The benison of sleep—the easy rest
Of lesser men—for those, whose kingly heads
Were plagued and harassed by a thousand cares,
And fretted with the panoply of State?

Said first Great Britain's ruler—He, who sways
His trident sceptre over boundless seas—
"My sleep is grateful with a rest made sweet
By the proud knowledge of my navy's might!
There flows a watery wall of ocean waves
To guard the boundaries of my island home;
From this safe-havened shore, my arms sweep far—
Outward to India's land and China's coast.



(From a photograph, 1893, by H. F. B. Lynch, author of *ARMENIA*.)

HIS HOLINESS MEKERTICH KHRIMEAN,

Catholicos of All Armenians,

Elected May 5th, 1892, Consecrated September 26th, 1893, Died
October 29th, 1907.

Popularly known as *Hairik*, a term of endearment signifying *little father*.

Author of the prophetic poem, *A Meeting of Kings*, written in 1900,
and published for the first time in this issue of *Ararat*.

Yet, should my empire in those distant realms
 Be backward chased, still would my mighty fleet
 Plough through the seas, as that historic beast,
 The old Leviathan, and scattered wide,
 I'd toss a stream to inundate the world.

—Great Buonaparte, that fiercest dragon once
 Wrestled against me, hissing poisonous hate,
 But I, Leviathan, the Conqueror,
 Twisted his lashing tail and bound him fast
 A captive, in Helena's lonely isle—
 Such is my strength by nature, and beyond,
 Great wealth is mine, immeasurable, immense !
 On golden cushions, in a leisured sleep,
 I lay my head and safely take my rest."

The German Kaiser, that vain-glorious Lord,
 Swelling with arrogance, was next to speak.
 "I boast no cushion made of gold!" he said,
 "But rather of our fierce unconquered host,
 Our well-trained soldiers, who against the French
 Gathered their forces on victorious fields,
 And proved our greatness—Though, in martial strength
 Lies less the glory of our German crown,
 Than in the lofty science of her sons !
 Alert and vigilant, I take no sleep
 Save on a bed of iron—where, in wait,
 Lie Krupp's great guns—so pillowed do I rest
 And thus sleep sound—secure the whole night through !

"One strong desire and longing stirs my soul,
 Touching the burning question of the East,
 Which Berlin's Congress only cleared in part,
 Leaving that article—the sixty-first,
 Whereon Armenia's people built their hope—
 Not only incomplete but so reversed,
 That in one single day were massacred
 One hundred thousand of Armenian race !
 If, verily, the Turk be sick to death,
 I have a medicine to cure his ill
 And make the world exclaim—The railway scheme,
 Turkey's chief interest—(and also mine
 In lesser measure)—I would so push out
 Through Asia Minor unto Babylon ;
 That with the Turk, grown rich and flourishing,
 The Eastern problem would at last be solved."

With countenances angered and with frowns
 The monarchs listened and passed on the word
 To the great ruler of Republic France—
 "I wear no crown," he said, "or kingly robes;
 Such baubles vanished with an Emperor's flight
 And, for a President, the cares of State
 Are not o'er-burdened with much pageantry.
 My office is but brief, though regicides,
 Ignoring what is good, would foully crush
 As common evils, King and democrat—
 The thought of Carnot banishes my sleep,
 And France shares in my vigil wakefulness,
 For with a brooding torture on her heart
 Are scarred two burning words—Alsace, Lorraine!"

The German Emperor scowled and muttered low,
 While Austria's aged Kaiser rose to speak.

"My head is bowed by time's unnumbered cares
 And heavy griefs. Rudolf, my only son,
 The nation's hope, is dead; and my sweet wife,
 Incomparably a queen, was vilely slain.
 Such sorrow robs the eyes of genial sleep.
 My land, 'tis true, grows ever prosperous
 Despite the polyglot of languages
 That mark the difference of race from race
 Within my boundaries; for only God,
 Whose will controls the adverse elements,
 Could fitly govern such diversities.
 I rule, indeed, with kindness, knowing well
 That violence begetteth violence.
 Harken, oh Monarchs! Harken and believe,
 Let history witness for me, this is true!"

He ceased, and next the Northern Potentate
 Spoke as became a haughty despotism.
 He vaunted Russia's vast circumference,
 Her width and breadth—an infinite expanse—
 Where, like a lion crouching in his lair
 Unharassed and unchallenged, he might sleep.
 "Myriads of Cossacks," proudly he proclaimed,
 "Muster to guard me at my frontier doors.
 Even Napoleon, when of old he sought
 To enter Moscow with his veterans,
 Mistook my strength and, broken, starved, and wan
 In woeful plight, went homeward whence he came.
 Could that great Captain, from his soldier tomb,
 Learn that his France with Russia was allied,

He would protest with angry vehemence.
 But time, time, time that changes everything,
 Has softened hearts of foemen into friend.
 And now the peril centres further East.
 A vision dawns before my watching eyes,
 Of modern China grown to monstrous strength,
 With sciences fresh-modelled on the West,
 And men well-trained in war and strategy,
 Able to organise and sweep their hordes
 Throughout Manchuria to Niva's shores—
 And you, my peers, who close unthinking eyes,
 Deriding danger, leave me free to fence
 Manchuria in strong bars against the foe—
 Such is the anguish of my prescience
 That nights are restless! Yet, oh brother Kings,
 If you should still incredulously doubt
 —I bid you take your warning from Japan!"

Strong words in turn from Turkey's Sultan fell.
 "Suffer, great Sovereigns," he said, "that I
 Be counted not too low to tell my thought.
 God promised me, as Ishmael's heir, a part
 Of Abram's blessing, when of old He said
 (So Hagar driven forth, was comforted.)
 'Ishmael, thy son, shall presently be great
 Among the nations, though his hand shall be
 For ever warring with his fellow men,
 And all the world shall be his enemy.'
 Proud Princes, do you know and understand
 That oracle? Strive as you will to curb
 And subjugate my might, you still will find
 Matchless Byzantium at her centre firm!
 Why do you envy that which is God-given?
 Or do you think, you whose own share is vast,
 To render impotent the words of fate?
 You fancy, in your hearts, that Turkey's life
 Is rotten and grown old, and through its death
 My lovely land, my beauteous Paradise,
 Shall fall partitioned to your greedy hands
 With all its wealth! Have you not learned, indeed,
 That lions make first claim when lots are cast—
 And shares are balanced by degrees of strength!
 —Here lie the seeds of strife—and fiercest war,
 Beyond all estimate, shall rage that day
 When Turkey's Sultan leaves Byzantium's throne!

—Thereafter peace shall reign in world's domain—
 Meanwhile I calmly sleep ; discerning God,
 Who moulds from highest heaven the fates of men !
 It is, moreover, wondrous fortunate
 That now to China goes the ' Eastern ' cry—
 I wish it long to stay where it has gone—
 But should it travel back to hamper me,
 So let it come, I care not over much !
 I have no golden pillows for my head,
 And ever are my treasury coffers bare.
 But by my cunning I have learned to play
 The game of State ; I well can serve the tide
 And trace its currents—So about my couch
 Are heaped rich cushions which I know to use
 As most convenient to the hour and place.
 For easy sleep such pillows cost much gold—
 My subtle politics are briefly this—
 To change my pillow with the changing times,
 And do, alas ! the thing I would not do ! ”

Then all the Kings in great amaze exclaimed,
 Most subtle is your wit in statesmanship !

The last to rise, was little Belgium's Lord.
 His words, like Solomon's of old, were wise !
 “ Great Kings ! ” he cried, “ Do you believe in God,
 The arbiter of crowns ? Do you profess
 Yourselves ordained his chosen delegates
 To guide and rule in justice over men ?
 One day, a reckoning shall estimate
 The gamut of your judgments and your deeds !
 Then, oh, World masters ! you in vain will boast
 The value of your coffers or your guns,
 Or the wide limits of your boundaries,
 As mere creations of your human skill !
 Ignoring Him, by whose sole Will you reign,
 Proud men of might, prating of sleeplessness
 While under you the harassed nations fret !
 What are the pedestals on which you rear
 Your treasuries ? Or, do you think that thrones
 Have some inherent virtue in themselves
 To keep them stable ? Know, the power of States
 Is rooted in a people's loyalty.
 Weaken this holy bond, and King and Crown
 Together crumble into nothingness !
 Be wise, World rulers, link about your thrones
 The tempered fetters of a nation's trust
 To chain your subjects to your kingliness.

Thus, King and people, people and the King,
 Together form one peerless unity
 After God's pattern. Now, oh princely men !
 To earn your scorn or wonder—as you choose—
 I will discuss that privilege of sleep
 Which does constrain me to an anchored rest
 Within the haven of a people's heart.
 An angel takes my crown in guardianship,
 And, with bared head, I lie in fearless ease,
 Secure upon my country's confidence.
 For Belgium's King—after the law of Christ—
 Governs those under him in gentleness.
 This I commend to you, my brother lords,
 As my last word—to bring you happiness—
 Let all the world have peace—peasant and king !
 That peace, the angels prophesied and pledged
 To mortals of goodwill—Alas ! Alas !
 Have men grown so ungodly ?—Peace is lost !
 Armies of huge proportions tax and bleed
 The burdened nations—till the grievous load
 Wearies its victims and a bitter cry
 Of lamentation surges up to God !
 Think you that He will yield His countenance
 To these unhallowed wars ? Then sheathe your swords,
 Saluting Peace—with one determined word
 Enough ! . . . Enough !”

The great World Masters stood in reverence,
 “ God and His Truth are in your words,” they cried.
 “ We hear, and yet—and yet—Each to his ends. . . .”

A little Father of Armenian Faith
 Has from his burdened spirit written thus.
 Compassionate his trouble, fellow men,
 And in God's name accept his poor attempt.

Versified by A. G. SHERIDAN.

A MEETING OF KINGS,

BY HIS HOLINESS THE LATE

MEKERTICH KHRIMEAN,

Catholicos of All Armenians.

A posthumous work published for the first time in *Ararat* for May, 1915.

The original Armenian version, together with the versified English translation and portrait, as they appeared in *Ararat*; also additional biography of the author in Armenian and English.

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ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎ

Չ'գիտեմ ինչպէս պատահում էր,
Թէ ձայն տուին և հրաւեր,
Ս'եր աշխարհի թագաւորներ
Ժողովան մի օր եկան մի տեղ.
Սկսեցին կարգով խօսել,
Եւ իրարու քէֆ հարցնել.
Եւրոք, ասեն, ամենուս մէջ
Ո՞չ հանգիստ քուն ունի գիշեր.
Եւ յնչափ անհուն հոգ զբաղմունք
Ս'ի՞նք տ'ան մեզ անխռով քուն:

Եսաց առաջ Բրիտանիոյ
Ս'ի՞նք տիրապետն Ովկիանու.
Իմ քունս խաղաղ է և անուշ,
Ունիմ ահեղ նաւատորմիդ,
Եւ պարտեղի եմ ի ծովին.
Ովկիանոսն է իմ պարիսպ,
Կղզիս փակեր է շրջապատ:
Իմ բազուկներս պարզեր եմ եւ
Ս'ինչ ի Հնդկիս և Ղ'ենաստան.
Թէ հալածեն զիս ցամաքէն,
Ես ի ծովուն լողալ գիտեմ,

Օտրդ Լևիաթան ջուր փչելով
 Ողողեմ ես աշխարհ բոլոր :
 Մեծ Կապույտն, այն գոռ վիշապ,
 Ֆշաց մրցեց ընդ Լևիաթան,
 Որ իւր զօրեղ պոչով ոլրեց
 Տարաւ փակեց Հեղինէ կղզին :
 Թող այս բնական իմ զօրութիւն,
 Ես հարուստ եմ անշարի անհուն.
 Գլուխս գնեմ ոսկի բարձին
 Հանգիստ քնեմ ես ապահով :

Կարգն էր ապա Գերմանիոյ
 Խորոխտ ինքնապանծ Կայսերին.
 Ըսաց, չունիմ ես ոսկէ բարձ,
 Ունիմ կրթեալ զինուորութիւն,
 Ընդարտելի ահեղ բանակ.
 Ես ցոյց տուի իմ զօրութիւն
 Գերման-Պրանս պատերազմին :
 Սոսկ ռազմական չէ զօրութիւնս.
 Գերմանիոյ թագին պարծանք
 Իւր գիտութիւնն է հռչակուած :
 Ես քուն չունիմ, շարժուն եմ միշտ.
 Իմ քնարան ի՞նչ է, գիտէ՞ր,
 Կրուպի ահեղ թնդանօթ :
 Գլուխս գնեմ վերէն քնեմ,
 Աստա՜ լինիմ գիշերն ի բուն :
 Մի ուխտ ունիմ և ցանկութիւն,
 Կամիմ յայտնել ի ժողովիս.
 Ո՞ր է մնացել Մրկելեան
 Հարցն ի վաղուց ժամանակի.
 Ահա՜ ժողովուն Բերլինի

Խնդիր լուծեց թէ կախ թողեց,
 Աթոռն և միերորդ յօդուած,
 Հայոց ազգին յոյսն ու հաւատ,
 Կատարեցաւ բանն ի ներհակ,
 Հարիւր հազար հայք զոհուեցան :
 Ոմանք ասեն թէ Թիւրքիան
 Հիւանդ է յոյժ առ ի վախճան.
 Ես բժիշկ եմ, թողէք դուք ինձ
 Գարման տանեմ խեղճ հիւանդին.
 Եւ ես կարեմ զայն բժշկել
 Ըշխարհ տեսնայ և զարմանայ :
 Բժշկութեան իմ փորձն այս է.
 Փոքր Լսիոյ երկաթուղին
 Տանեմ մինչև ի Բաբելոն.
 Իմ շահ փոքր է որոշ չափով,
 Իսկ Թիւրքիոյ մեծ է քան զիմ.
 Երկիրն իւր հարստանայ,
 Եւ ժողովուրդ բարգաւաճի.
 Գուցէ այսպէս տակաւ տակաւ
 Լրեկեան հարցն լուծուի :

Լսեցին այս Ահհապետը
 Խոժոռեցան աստի անտի :

Բանին կարգն էր Գաղղիոյ
 Կախագահի Հանրապետին.
 Ըսաց, ես չեմ մեծ թագակիր,
 Ըլ պարզ մի մարդ առանց ֆօռմի.
 Թագ Կապույտն տարաւ իւր հետ.
 Երթայ բարով, չդառնայ ետ :
 Չունիմ մեծ հոգ ինչպէս որ դուք.
 Իմ պաշտօն կարճ է, համառօտ :

Բայց նշովեալ արքայտապանք
 Չգիտեն երբէք բարին ու չարն .
 Թէ թագաւոր թէ հանրապետ,
 Գլուխ է, ասեն, պէտքէ կտրել .
 Վաղաքակիրթ եղան ազգեր,
 Իշլ չեն պիտոյ գլուխ և թագեր :
 Ես չունիմ քուն, փախեր է քունս,
 Երբ յիշում եմ բարի կառնօն :
 Մի բան էլ կայ . ոչ միայն ես,
 Եւլ և բոլոր ազգ Գաղղիոյ
 Ենքուն առնէ տանջէ հոգին,
 Եւ՛ղ չկարեմ արտասանել,
 Ելլասւ ջրէնն է այդ բան :

(՛), խոժոռեցաւ Գերման կայսր :

Խօսք առեց հին պետութեան
 Եւստրիոյ Յովսէփի կայսր .
 Ես էլ ունիմ շատ պատճառներ,
 Որ չտան ինձ քուն ու հանգիստ .
 Միահատիկ որդիս մեռաւ,
 Չեղէ թագին ո՛հ նա ժառանգ :
 Թագուհիս իմ աննման
 Սպանեցին վատ դաւաճանք .
 Թողում այս ցաւ ընտանեկան,
 Որ հատանէ քուն իմ աչացս :
 Երկիր ունիմ ես բարեշէն,
 Որ չէ կաղմեալ մի ազգ մի ցեղ,
 Եւլ մի խառնուրդ այլալեզու,
 Միշտ հակառակ կան իրարու .
 Վաղաքակիրթ, բայց Բաբելոն :
 Վանի՛ ծանր է և դժուարին

Վեկավարել հակառ աղգեր .
 Միայն Էստուծոյ ձեռն է կարող
 Որ հակառակ տարերք վարէ :
 Պուր գիտէք և վկայէք,
 Իշխանութիւնս է հայրական,
 Ես չկամիմ բնաւ երբէք
 Որ բռնութիւն գնեմ ի գործ .
 Օտերագոյն եմ և փորձառու,
 Գիտեմ ես քաջ թէ բռնութիւն
 Օնանի զայլ իմն ըզբռնութիւն :
 Հաւատացէք, ո՛վ թագաւորք,
 Ես պատմութիւն բերեմ վկայ :

Հիւսիսային մեծ պետութեան

Գահակալին էր բանին կարգ .
 Եսաց, ունիմ լայնածաւալ
 Եշխարհ անեղր և անսահման .
 Ուր ես կամիմ, դընեմ գլուխս
 Եւ քուն լինիմ իբրեւ առիւծ,
 Որ կայ ի քուն և արթուն է :
 Եւ ո՞ր կարէ վրդովել քունս,
 Բիւրաւոր քաջ կողակներ
 Ինձ պահապան կան առ դրունս :
 Մեծ Վապօլէօն մտաբերեց
 Մինչ Սոսկուա արշաւել,
 Վ տանդեցաւ, սորջացաւ,
 Միջակոտոր դարձաւ յետս :
 Ինձ վալիդի գերեզմանէն
 Եթէ լսէ, թէ Գաղղիա
 Գաշնակից է Ոսկիոյ,
 Հին ոստին և թշնամոյն,

Խռովին անշուշտ ոսկերոտիք,
 Բողոք բառնան առ Հայրենիք :
 Ե՛ր ժամանակ, ժամանակ,
 Որ փոփոխէ զամենայն ինչ,
 Ոսոխն առնէ դաշնակից :
 Բայց խօսիմ ձեզ, ով թագակալք,
 Երեմոտքէն, Եւրոպայէն,
 Չունիմ բնաւ երկիւղ կասկած,
 Եւ իմ վախն է Երեւելք,
 Ճենաստան է, Ճենաստան,
 Որ հատանէ քուն իմ աչացս :
 Ո՛վ դիտէ գայ ժամանակ,
 Որ զօրանայ ազգ Ճենաց,
 Վաղաքակիրթ լինի մեզ պէս,
 Արժեալ ի զէն և պատերազմ,
 Կազմէ ահեղ զօրաբանակ
 Եւ ջրհեղեղ լինի, յորդէ
 Երեւելքէն մինչ Երեմոտք,
 Համայն աշխարհն իմ ողողէ
 Մանչուրայէն մինչ Նեա գետ,
 Մայրաքաղաքն իմ Պետերբուրգ.
 Եւ ո՞վ կարէ թումք քաշել դէմ.
 Մանչուրան է իւր ճանապարհ :
 Չթողնէ արգեօք, որ ես գրաւեմ,
 Սի ահեղ թումք քաշել իւր դէմ :
 Եպագային այս մեծ վտանգ
 Մտաբերեմ, սոսկամ այժմէն.
 Հոգածուծիւն զիս խռովէ,
 Վրէն և հանգիստ բառնայ յինէն.
 Չէ՞ք հաւատար դուք այս բանին,
 Փոքրիկ Ճապոնն է ապացոյց :

Սուլթան Խալիֆ, Թուրքիոյ թագ,
 Եսաց, ո՞վ դուք աշխարհակալք,
 Ինձ կարդ տուէք ես էլ խօսիմ.
 Սի՞րթէ դուք զիս փոքր համարէք.
 Օհաւակ եմ ես Խամայէլի,
 Եբրահամու ճիշդ սերունդէն,
 Ում խոստացաւ Տէր Եստուած մեր
 Օհաւակներուն տալ բաժին.
 Պատգամ տուաւ հրեշտակին,
 Հրեշտակ խօսեց խեղճ Հագարին
 Թէ Խամայէլ մեծ աղբ լինի,
 Տիրէ ազգաց և աշխարհի,
 “Չեւք նորա յամենեսին,
 Եմենցուն ձեռքն ի նա” :
 Ո՛վ թագապան՝ իշխանք երկրի,
 Վիտէք արդեօք պատգամին միտք,
 Չեւք ձեր քարշեն զիս չորս կողմէն,
 Իմ ձեւք բռներ ձեր օձիքէն.
 Վարչեցէք որչափ կամիք,
 Եւ ես անշարժ մնամ ի կեդրոն
 Չնաշխարհիկ Բիւզանդիոն.
 Ա՛յ աւուրն, որ միանաք,
 Օհիս մի կողմէն քարշէք ի բաց,
 Եւ յաւախեան դուք չէք տեսնար :
 Իմ այս բաժին Եստուած է տուեր,
 Բնդէ՞ր հապա դուք նախանձիք.
 Սի՞րթէ կարէ՞ք ջնջել պատգամ :
 Ունիք և դուք մեծ մեծ բաժին :
 Վիտեմ ես քաջ ի՛նչ է ձեր միտք,
 Վուցէ կարծէք Թուրքիոյ կեանք
 Օտերացեր է, մօտ է ի մահ :

Ս'իթէ սպասէք դուք այն աւուր,
 Ղարախտի նման հարուստ երկիրս
 Բաժին բաժին անել ձեր մէջ:
 Վանի՛ դժուար է, դուք գիտէ՞ք,
 Երբ խնդիր դայ բաժնի վերէն.
 Որ առիւծն է և զօրաւոր,
 Բաժին խնդրէ մեծ մեծ կտոր:
 Եստ է յայնժամ կռիւ պայքար,
 Երիւնհակ դու պատերազմ.
 Եւ ի՞նչ լինի վախճան կուռն,
 Եւս է միայն, ուրիշ ոչինչ,
 Երաբից մեծ Խալիֆին
 Թողող իւր Ղահ Ռիւզանդիոն,
 Խաղաղութիւն լինի աշխարհ:
 Հարցէք դուք այժմ, հանգիստ է քունս.
 Օրհնեալ է Եստուած, խոր է իմ քունս.
 Ես հաւատամ ճակատագրին.
 Խնչպէս Եստուած կամի յերկինս,
 Եւսպէս լինի երկրիս վերէն
 Բանին սկիզբն և իւր վախճան:
 Բայց դուք ընդէ՞ր վրդովէք քունս
 Երեւելան հարց հանելով.
 Ես ուրախ եմ և բաղդաւոր,
 Ենցաւ յինէն դժպատեհ հարց,
 Ղանաց մտաւ ի ճ'նաստան,
 Ո՞տայր, որ անդ կենար մնայր,
 Կրկին ի յետս չդառնար:
 Բայց թէ դառնայ էլ չէ ինձ փոյթ.
 Փորձուելով, փորձուելով
 Ես լաւ ուսայ զփոյթիթիք,
 Ղիտեմ ինչպէս պէտք է վարուիլ:

Իմ գանձարանս թափուր է միշտ.
 Չունիմ գլխոյս ոսկեբարձիկ,
 Կամ թնդանթ այն Կրուպի.
 Բայց ես ունիմ պատրաստ բարձեր,
 Դամանակին հետեւելով
 Ըզմինն ընտրեմ, դնեմ գլխոյս,
 Եւ ապահով ննջեմ իքուն:
 Թէ ժամանակ, թէ փոյթիթիք
 Երբ փոփոխին աշխարհիս,
 Հայնժամ փոխեմ բարձն իմ գլխոյս,
 Ընտրեմ յաւէտ յարմարագոյն:
 Բարձերուն վարձ ահագին է,
 Դամանակէն բռնադատեալ.
 Օրը չկամիմ, ո՞հ, զայն առնեմ.
 Եւս է միայն իմ փոյթիթիք
 Դամանակին հետեւելով:

Օարմացան ողջ թագակիրք.
 Կեցցէ, ասեն, Սուլթան Խալիֆ
 Վաղաքագէտ է քան զմեզ:

Ա երջնական կարգն էր Բելճիդ
 Փոքրիկ երկրին, փոքրիկ թագին.
 Եւս նա մեծ էր և իմաստուն,
 Սողոմոնի պէս էր խօսում.—
 Ի ուարուր ինձ, թագաւորք,
 Ո՞վ ետ ձեզ այդ իշխանութիւն.
 Եթէ ասէք, յերկնուստ է այն,
 Եւ հաւատաք թէ կայ մի Տէր,
 Նա Եստուած է ամենիշխան,
 Եւ թագադիր է ձեր գլխոյն,

Ձեզ յանձնեի է այս մեծ աշխարհ
 Սարել գատել արդարութեամբ .
 Եւ դուք ունիք համար տալու
 Գատաստանի օր պահանջման :
 Ի՞նչ է այն որ մեծաբանէք .
 Սինն պարծի ոսկի բարձով ,
 Սիւնն Կրուպի թնդանօթով ,
 Եւլ ոմն աշխարհ իւր ընդարձակ
 Համարի իւր ապաստարան :
 Չասէք ոչինչ թէ Լստուծով
 Թագաւորէք երկրիս վերայ :
 Գանդատ բառնաք՝ թէ քուն չունիք ,
 Հէր ապա դուք անքուն առնէք
 Եւ չարչարէք խեղճ ժողովուրդ ,
 Լսացէք ինձ, ո՞վ Սեհապետք ,
 Թէ ում վրայ է հաստատուն
 Ձեր գանձ, աթոռ և տէրութիւն .
 Դուք կարծում էք թէ գանձ աթոռ
 Կարէ ինքնին կալ հաստատուն ,
 Թէ չունիցի նա պատուանդան
 Հաւատարիմ իւր ժողովուրդ ,
 Որ անձնուէր է թագաւորին .
 Եթէ շարժի և կամ խախտի
 Ձեր աթոռի ամուր խորխոս ,
 Ո՛հ, կործանի գահն ու աթոռ
 Եւ թագաւորն թափն ի գլուխ :
 Եւ չխատեցէք, ո՞վ Սեհապետք ,
 Ձեր պատուանդան հաստատ պահել
 Հաւատարիմ ժողովուրդով :
 Քանի որ կայ մեր այս աշխարհ ,
 Պիտոյ է միշտ աշխարհավար ,

Թագաւոր ժողովուրդին
 Եւ ժողովուրդ թագաւորին ,
 Երկու դասն ի միասին
 Կազմեն մի կեանք համերաշխ .
 Լստուածադիր է այս կարգ ,
 Սարդ չկարէ փոփոխել զայն :
 Ներողութիւն, ո՞վ մեծ իշխանք ,
 Դուք խօսեցիք իւրաքանչիւր
 Թէ ինչ բարձեր են ձեր գլխոյն ,
 Որով հանգիստ լինիք ի քուն :
 Երբ ես ասեմ, ինչ է իմ բարձ ,
 Գուցէ խնդաք և զարմանաք .
 Ինչիոյ հեզ թագաւորին
 Ժողովուրդի սիրտն է իւր բարձ
 Ուր ես գլխիկս դնեմ խաղաղ .
 Թագ հրեշտակին տամ առ ի պահ ,
 Եւ ես ննջեմ հանգիստ, անվախ :
 Ժառանգութեան իմ այս երկիր
 Ես հեղութեամբ ժառանգում եմ ,
 Կարծեմ արդար է իմ այս բան ,
 Ըստ Քրիստոսի երանութեան :
 Սի բան ունիմ, վերջին է բանս .
 Օ, այն չկարեմ ես մոռանալ ,
 Բանս արդար է և ճշմարիտ
 Եւ թագերուդ է մեծ պարտիք ,
 Թէ առնիցէք, երջանիկ էք
 Դուք և Ձեր ողջ հպատակներ :
 Հանկալի է, յոյժ ցանկալի ,
 Խաղաղութիւն մեր աշխարհին ,
 Խաղաղութիւն թագաւորաց ,
 Խաղաղութիւն ժողովուրդին .

Խաղաղութեան հրեշտակ երկնուց
 Խաղաղութիւն բերաւ աշխարհ,
 Խաղաղութիւն թողուց աւանդ,
 Ո՛հ կորուսաք խաղաղութիւն,
 Վա՛ւ մի՞թէ մենք ամբարշտ եմք,
 Որպէս ասէ մարգարէն :
 Հերիք այսչափ մեծութեան տնէ,
 Բաւ և շատ է, սահման դրէք,
 Հերիք անթիւ զէնք ու բանակ,
 Օհնուորական տուրք անբանակ
 Ժողովուրդին բառնալ քամակ,
 Բարդելով բեռն ծանրագոյն
 Լնտանելի և դժնդակ :
 Եղգեր ողջոյն հեծեն ողորմ,
 Բողոքում են մինչև յերկինս :
 Սի՛րթէ կարծէք արդար Լստուած
 Լնտես առնէ իւր դատաստան :
 Բաւ է, դրէք սուրն ի պատեան,
 Ողջունեցէք խաղաղութիւն :

Յոտին կացեալ աշխարհապետք,
 “Կեցցէ՛, ասեն, Բե՛լճիյ թագ .
 “Նա բան խօսեց ճշմարտութեամբ,
 Լսեալորան էր իւր բերան,
 Բայց մէք զառնամք ի մեր բան”

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